The Reply

An Anti-Suffrage Magazine

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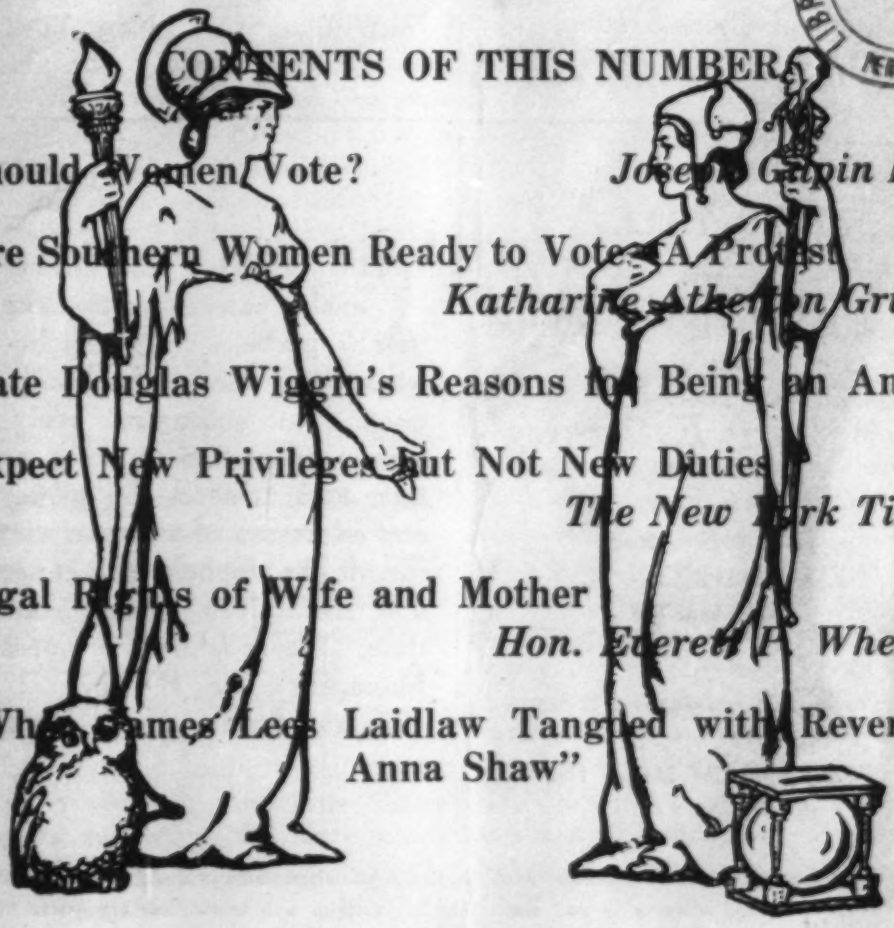

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The Reply

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Editorial Notes

Lately the Connecticut Legislature joined the over-mobilized army of legislative bodies that evidently comprehend the meaning of their oaths of office. Anti-suffrage state legislatures now number eighteen since November; two or three of the states are not mentioned here, but a little omission like that doesn't matter when the toll of legislatures deciding against votes for women has proved so overwhelminging:

Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Delaware, Indiana, Michigan, North Carolina, Minnesota, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Texas, Missouri, Nebraska.

Of these states, five adjoin woman suffrage states.

The Duchess of Marlborough breathes war and may yet rise in filial devotion to the high standing and dignity of our leading American militant.

The wonderful accuracy and dispassion with which the suffragette editors of special editions of New York papers discuss the only subject in the world is the statement printed in one of them that the liquor interests of Massachusetts have established a fund of $8,000,000 to fight female suffrage in the campaign. It may not be true, as the colored philosopher declared, that this is "more money than they is," but it is clearly evident that the belligerent nations of Europe will not need to look beyond the liquor interests of Massachustees when comes the necessity of rehabilitating themselves financially after the war.

In the recent election in Chicago "women were not molested, but they were unmistakably convinced that if they desired to participate in the political game, they had to stand upon the same plane as men and could expect no favors because of their sex."

This is an outrage which must never be repeated.

A recent talk by Prof. Zueblin—whoever he may be, and however he manages to get reported in the newspapers—probably comprises as many misconceptions and misstatements as ever happened to be brought together in a single utterance.

He tells us that there is a great social

need for matchmakers, because men and women frequently chose the wrong person. Men and women do not always marry the right person, but if they regard marriage as a sacrament and stick to it, they very often find that they have been mated properly and have needed no matchmakers.

This Mr. Zueblin also tells us that people walk out on Fifth Avenue bored to death and want to be happy without knowing how. Exactly the contrary is true. How could any one be anything but happy on Fifth Avenue? What else is Fifth Avenue for?

This lecturer (who somehow gets reported in the newspapers) tells us, moreover, that we must stop penalizing illegitimate children. He doesn't tell us how to do this, and he seems to be shallow enough not to know that to stop penalizing illegitimate children would help, like free divorce, to mean free love and free marriage, the community in time to take care of all of the babies, legitimate or other.

Mr. Zueblin makes other mistakes, not so important—not that any of his mistakes are very important. He seems to desire "a national religion" "in order to give every one an opportunity to express his own religion." As if any one still in his proper senses contended that we have to believe and worship as some one else tells us to do!

It is a little irksome, and yet quite necessary, to stop the press to say that in suffragist Kansas, if the legislators indorse a certain measure, women will not be permitted to powder their noses or use perfume or rouge.

The New York World may be unequivocally for female suffrage all the time, but it has its little editorial dig for the Suffs just the same. "Women voters," it says, "may not be required to tell their age in Chicago. Gallantry will thus keep pace with the suffrage. But has a woman strength for the vote if she lacks courage for her years."

And again: "The Oliphant bill passed by the Lower House of the New Jersey Legislature removes the necessity of a woman voter's telling her age at the polls. Is this exception by act of Legislature in the nature of a triumph for Feminism or a loss?"

The claim of Hon. Herbert Parsons that if women only voted the Subway jam would be a thing of the past, is respectfully referred to Governor Whitman's reorganized Metropolitan Public Service Commission.

Mrs. Pell should not worry about her $4,000 jewel, lost at the suffrage ball and not yet recovered. Perhaps it got into the melting pot.

The Anti-suffragists of Massachusetts are going about their task of defeating the suffrage amendment to the state constitution with the kind of thoroughness and skill that comes as near to guaranteeing success as anything can. They point out that the Suffragists have a great deal to say about the area which now has suffrage and very little about the population. The addition of Nevada to the list of suffrage states brings 110,000 more square miles—an area almost as large as New York and all New England; that is very impressive until you realize that this great area has seven-tenths of an inhabitant to the square mile, and one woman to every six square miles. If area is what they are after, why not try for the Desert of Sahara? It is much larger even than

Nevada, having an area of 2,700,000 square miles and no female inhabitants to speak of; and it is an interesting fact that the fewer women in a country, the easier it is to get woman suffrage. Alaska, for instance, has no trouble at all in getting it. All suffrage countries are sparsely settled. Wards 20 and 21 of Boston have a population in excess of the total population of Nevada.

The Massachusetts Anti-suffragists also point out that in Massachusetts today woman has the same right in property that man has; the same right to take part in every industrial pursuit that man has. She is permitted under the law today to enter all learned professions, she can enjoy her own income, her own wages, her own property, and has the equal right to control and educate her own children.

Manifestly, then, she does not need the vote, as she has already secured equal rights and privileges without it; and that she does not want the vote and will not use it, is conclusively shown once a year when more than 96 per cent of Massachusetts women refuse to vote for school committee. If she does not need it, does not want it, and will not use it, it is evident that it is a group of professional suffrage agitators who keep the subject alive in Massachusetts.

Barney Grogan, who needed a friend to defend him against his kissing suffragette friends of Chicago, had his license revoked because he kept a disorderly place, but 1,453 women voted for him just the same.

The REPLY would devote a page, or a whole issue, for that matter, not merely to quoting the proposition of Justice Lehman that "even the rich have some rights," or to giving as much prominence as possible to the fact that the suit against its old friend, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, for $10,000 damages for false arrest was dismissed. It seems that a man milliner or man dressmaker or something of the sort, who possibly imagined himself a Suffragist or a Suffragette at the time, delivered or claimed to have delivered at Mrs. Belmont's headquarters no less than eleven white dresses which were to be worn by Mrs. Belmont's little girl Suffragists in a street parade. It further appears that when the bill was presented Mrs. Belmont's militant janitresses threw the man out. And notice: just as the man's suits were not suitable, so he was nonsuited.

Five Jersey City girls, each about fourteen years old, ask to be made policemen. Their success in getting appointed would doubtless clean up the town; but is not some one in danger of being arrested by the child labor reformers?

Miss Lillian Russell does not propose to be prevented from being a Suffragist. She was born that way, and her mother ran for Mayor of New York in 1888 and received seventeen votes. Miss Russell is also a Progressive by marriage, and there is no reason why her daughter should not feel encouraged to run for Mayor of New York on some appropriate ticket some time.

There is no doubt that Col. Boyerlein strikes the popular note. "The Bergen County Democratic Committee," writes a Sun reporter, "has refused to go on record for woman suffrage, despite the efforts of Dan Fellows Platt of Englewood, a member of the state committee and an ardent supporter of the suffrage movement. At a meeting in Hackensack

Sergeantat-Arms Fred Boyerlein seemed to strike the popular note when he said:

" Do you want to drag a woman into dirty politics? I wouldn't stand for it, neither would my wife, as she has fifteen children, and she says, 'Fritz, you look out for the family and I will take care of the household.' "

Rheta Childe Dorr tells us that she has been working for nearly seventeen years for less money than her male associates in the same trade, and she asks why it is.

We cannot tell you for certain, Rheta. Perhaps the law of supply and demand hadn't been suspended by the imminence of votes for women.

Miss Lucy Burns, one of the Washington suffrage lobbyists, declares that their greatest gain will be the loss of Mr. Root from the Senate. "Our other antagonists in Congress," she adds, "do not really matter very much." Miss Burns is correct with reference to Mr. Root's position. He is on record this way as to the female suffrage question:

I am opposed to the granting of suffrage to women because I believe that it would be a loss to women, to all women and to every woman; and because I believe it would be an injury to the state, and to every man and every woman in the state.

As to the other antagonists of female suffrage in Congress, while doubtless they will feel very much flattered to know that they really do not matter very much, they may, at the same time, be able partially to preserve the integrity of their opinions.

A letter by Mary T. Nash, of East Orange, N. J., printed in the *Sun* recently, shall have a place in this issue of THE REPLY, no matter if everything else is crowded out. This lady says:

"I cannot understand why certain female politicians insist on taking up the valuable time of the President of the United States by repeatedly calling on him to support the cause of woman suffrage.

"The only possible explanation that I can give is that they are using President Wilson and his exalted office for publicity purposes. These women, who should be called social terrorists, fully know that their marches to the White House will get their names and the cause they embrace in the newspapers.

"That's what the majority of the women who are interested in this fanatical movement particularly care about.

"After the President has kindly but resolutely told them several times that the matter is one for the states to deal with, these terrorists still keep on trailing to the White House when they know what the answer of the President will be before they go there.

"Therefore I charge them with using the President in order to give publicity to their despicable propaganda.

"The Mormons were the first to give any consideration to woman suffrage; the socialists everywhere are openly in favor of it, for a large delegation of these benighted souls were welcomed and feted at the recent session of the national convention of women suffragists which was held at Atlanta, Ga., and no proponent of the cause can deny that Colorado, Washington and Oregon were not voted dry by the women voters in these States."

Mrs. Inez Milholland Boissevain has just denounced the Constitution of the United States as "an undemocratic vehicle" for a democratic people—evidently being in danger of contracting the taxi habit.

It is best not to pay too much attention to the quarrels, real or pretended, among the various suffragist organizations. These occur naturally. The desire of women having loose home ties and little to do except to make themselves

prominent must be expected to try to be leaders or near-leaders, and they must be expected to quarrel over it. This, however interesting, is not important—any more than it is that among the Antis there should be, now and then, some differences of opinion as to persons or methods, and that the Eternal Feminine should appear, even though darkly, in these local disturbances, or domestic disturbances, as they might be called. The issue is infinitely bigger than the mere whim, or wish, or determination of any woman, Suffragist or Anti, and all home-lovers and all home-defenders among men and women alike, must bend to their task of defeating votes for women with new energy and new confidence born of a desire not simply to do the patriotic thing but to do it a little more energetically and generally, and hence a little more successfully, than they have ever done anything before.

It is now proposed to organize a suffragist union of stenographers in New York, and later, no doubt, a suffragist strike of stenographers may follow.

A Miss Donnelly, living at the Martha Washington Hotel, proposes to organize a woman's independent suffrage party which shall win by fair play and be without snobbery. Evidently Miss Donnelly wants it to be very select indeed.

A recent utterance of Dr. Henry Newmann, who appears to be leader of the Brooklyn Society for Ethical Culture, really needs to be quoted, and we do it for a purpose.

"More than one splendid man in providing the money which the home needs, does not realize that the greatest offering he can make his children is himself."

This is the latest indication, or one of them, that some of our leaders in ethical culture societies as well as schools of commerce cause the innocent to wonder in what kind of homes they were brought up and what kind of men and women they have mostly associated with in their later lives. Two observations occur to us: one, that a person uttering such views immediately writes himself down as one who has lacked, unfortunately and perhaps blamelessly, the associations of a real home during his adolescence, and that he has been similarly unfortunate in his later associations with real men and real women. For the latter condition of affairs such people cannot be so easily forgiven.

It was at a meeting of suffragists at Richmond, Virginia, that Miss Adele Clark declared that it was only in states having female suffrage that eight-hour legislation had been enacted for working women! Miss Clark evidently thought that this would not be printed anywhere.

The Jane Addams dolls and the Mrs. Chapman Catt dolls and the Dr. Anna Howard Shaw dolls, now in process by the woman suffrage party and likely to take the circuit later, ought to be perfect dears.

The Massachusetts Suffragists have already collected $30,000 towards the $100,000 which they propose to spend "converting" the benighted in the Old Bay State.

"I don't agree with the contention of the Suffragists," says Agnes Reppelier, "that government is housekeeping on a large scale. It is really business on a huge scale, and men are more capable of conducting it than women.

"I think we overestimate the number

of women who are eager for suffrage, too. There are a few hundred names that are constantly brought to our attention, but we hear nothing of the great majority of women who are busy with their homes and their children. They know nothing about Feminism, and are not interested in the fight for woman's rights."

A Pennsylvania Anti is distributing thousands and thousands of cards bearing this truth:

Woman Suffrage was begotten in Utah and Idaho by Mormonism, rocked in the cradle of Colorado by Populism, fostered in California by Socialism, and is being pushed into Pennsylvania homes by promoters of Feminism, assisted by purveyors of political fads.

There are hundreds of earnest Antis doing similar effective work. Not so much is heard about them, however, as if they rode the elephant down Broadway.

The feminist page of the *Evening Sun* quotes Mrs. Ellen K. Hooker, an Anti-suffragist and friend of Susan B. Anthony, as quoting "Susan," as we believe the Suffragists love to call Miss Anthony, as confessing one night after a lecture, at which no doubt Miss Anthony had been more eloquent than usual:

"I don't say that I am absolutely in favor of woman suffrage today, because I am not certain that it will be best for the Government that the franchise be granted us."

Then "Susan" smiled mischievously and added that she would vote nevertheless, no matter if she had to be carried to the polls.

"Woman Suffrage," writes a correspondent of the Sun, "is either a denial of the headship of the family or a charge that man has failed as its representative in the relation to the state; for heretofore the family, not the individual, has been recognized as the unit upon which the state depended, and for man to grant the ballot to woman would be an admission that he has not been faithful to his trust and has legislated without regard to his family. If man is prepared to abdicate the place where nature has put him as protector and provider, by all means let him bestow the ballot upon woman; but let him be prepared for an end of discipline and consequent disruptions of both family and state."

The latest romance in real life has it that Miss Mary Wear Dennett, "who divorced Dennett and has the two children now," was "once an actress, later corresponding secretary of the National Suffrage Association, and then organizer of the Twilight Sleep Club," thus clearly making a combination hard to beat.

Mrs. Catt emerges from a very recent but not long-continued obscurity to give perhaps the finest exhibition of all of that sacred regard for the truth which so characterizes the suffragist leaders. "The law," says Mrs. Catt, "does not allow a single privilege to women."

Who was it that most violently protested against the man-made rule that the wives of British soldiers who received separate allowances during the war shouldn't get drunk on them? Who else could it be but Sylvia?

If the good and true Antis of Boston will see to it that no confident and encouraging anti resolution containing the split infinitive is ever passed again, all may be forgiven.

Are Southern Women Ready to Vote—A Protest

By Katharine Atherton Grimes, in the Southern Woman's Magazine

Do the women of the South want equal suffrage? That question would seem to have been amply answered by the popular demonstration due to the impulse of the great convention held in Nashville last fall. That assembly of attractive and well-informed women practically "got their own way" in the chivalrous center of Southern culture, and their tenets were accepted with perhaps too slight a glance at the opposing arguments. For, in spite of the wave of popularity upon which the Feminist movement is now being carried, there is an opposition—"old-fashioned," perhaps, and, as our Suffrage friends would say, out of date in these hustling times, but for all that founded on the very bedrock of the things that have kept womanhood upon its throne through all the vicissitudes of the changing ages.

The question before our lawmakers, who must ultimately decide the matter after all, is not so much whether women need the vote as whether they want it. The tendency of manhood has always been, for a multiplicity of reasons, to give women pretty much what they asked for. There is no question but some of them do want it; and, on the contrary, there is no question but that many of them do not. The country women, who are the women as truly behind the greatest burdens of the sex as the farmer is behind the greatest economic burdens of the world, have been unrepresented in this movement because unorganized; and the ardent supporters of Woman Suffrage have not cared to organize them because they found among them very little sympathy with the movement. Rural womanhood, as a whole, does not want to vote; nor does this feeling arise from a desire to shirk any of life's great responsibilities, as no women in the world pull truer or fairer with their husbands and brothers in matters of duty.

In the first place the country woman has never been subjected to the stimulus of excitement as has her city sister. She has had time to think things over for herself and come to her own unbiased conclusions without the urge of insistent speech-making. The principles of suffrage are, none the less, before her, but for the most part are presented in cold type, to be read and weighed upon their own merits, apart from the influence of the personality of those who promulgate them. In this case the last thing that ought to have a bearing is personality. The question should be allowed to stand or fall upon its own bases solely, and according to strict logic or principle; and not as the result of the skilful injection of personal magnetism which the world-wise woman knows so well how to use, and which, though legitimate and attractive in its proper place, would be a most dangerous element to have mingled with the already too great complexity of political activity.

But it is not only the country woman who does not want the vote. The plain, every-day, home-keeping women—such as most of the wives and mothers of the masses are and will continue to be—are either outspoken against it or entirely indifferent, either attitude being fatal to their judicious use of the ballot, if, indeed, they use it at all. "My wife would vote if she had to," said a man of prom-

inence and culture when the question was put to him, "but it would be only for the sake of counterbalancing another vote cast by some member of the underworld, which could be depended upon to vote to the limit. And she would always ask me how to vote; not that she is incapable of deciding such matters for herself, but because she has so many greater interests that she has neither time nor inclination for the study of politics." "I cannot use the vote intelligently myself," said a skilled laborer when the same question was asked. "I work too many hours in the day to bother with politics, and though I hear the talk about me all the time, except for the men in local politics whom I know personally I never feel qualified to decide such issues. And my wife, who is just as busy as I am, and who hears far less of public sentiment, would have even less opportunity to use the ballot for her own best interests or those of any one else." "My wife wants to vote?" repeated the husband of a bright and well-informed little lady who is very active in the general welfare work of her own community. "Well, not as any one knows of. She says she has all she can look after now." These three instances, representing what may be called three distinct types of womanhood, may be duplicated in half an hour by any one who cares to take the trouble to ask the next three people he meets, and fairly show the average woman's attitude toward the question of suffrage. It is either a forced duty, one that will not be used intelligently, or one that will not be used at all. In neither case would it be felt to be a privilege.

It was stated before that those women who are averse to the burden of the ballot being laid upon the sex do not take their stand from any desire to shun responsibility. The deeper reasons of policy are, after all, the swaying force. Politics being admittedly in need of reform, it is hard to see how this can be accomplished by doubling a bad matter. The "red light" vote will, without question, be doubled, and this deplorable element in its masculine phase is now exploited to the limit by unscrupulous politicians. Moreover, the addition of the feminine underworld will bring into politics a complication that makes any thinking person shudder. It is a consideration that must be weighed along with the rest, and weighed well, for the new lever it will give the "heeler" to manipulate will more than counterbalance whatever influence the votes of good women might exert. Can the present chaos be made organizable by the infusion of such an element? Those who are on the verge of placing the great structure of government upon this new foundation must not let their courtesy for womanly women blind them to the fearful possibilities of this phase of the question.

But, leaving the woman of the underworld entirely out of the question, there is a great menace in the introduction of the sex element. Not that the good women who might use the ballot would be consciously influenced by it; but the truth remains that a man who would have no influence whatever upon other men who knew his inner life to be despicable would still, through the natural sympathy that is the most womanly thing about the right kind of woman, be able to sway her in his favor. The woman whose father or brother or husband could tell her the things about him that are usually known only in masculine circles would be fortunate, for it might prevent regrettable results; but how about the woman with no father or husband or brother to advise her? Women will continue to marry scoundrels

through misplaced sympathy; what guarantee have we that in the lesser matter of voting for them they will not be even more greatly misled by this same quality? There is not and never will be any way to guard franchised woman against mistakes of this kind except by bringing about what would be the most regrettable change of a pseudo-masculinity.

It is urged over and over that great issues have been carried through by woman's influence. While that is true, and no one denies it, it must be remembered that it has been by her influence and not by her vote. It is a question whether the vocational bill, so nobly passed by the Tennessee Legislature in response to an overwhelming need, would not have met with a less spontaneous reception if woman had had the ballot than it did when all their power must be expended in that intangible thing called influence. The ballot will bring with it an instinctive opposition; "You have got the vote, now use it for what you want and don't ask us to give it to you," will in many cases be the attitude of legislative bodies.

The same may be said of other great reforms where woman's influence has been a prominent feature, and the same will continue to be true of other great reforms. Where these have been passed immediately after the advent of equal suffrage the truth of the matter has been that the time was ripe for them and that they would have passed with or without the feminine vote. Reforms all come as the ultimate triumph of mankind's innate sense of justice, and are usually not so much the result of the injection of a new political principle as of a cumulative impulse toward the doing of things because they are right and just. In this, woman's influence, quietly at work through the character building of the home and the school, has held an incalculable place. But when this influence has been leveled to that of the political wire-puller, will it be as great?

Men have made great mistakes and committed great crimes in the name of government. But back of the man who votes is always the woman he loves—mother, wife, sister or daughter. The good men, those who vote firmly on principles of right and justice, come from homes where the womanly influence has been wholesome and uplifting. From homes where this influence is otherwise, what can we naturally expect? Will the vote of the women from those homes be likely to undo what the vote of the men from the same homes do in the way of political crime? What logic can possibly show that a doubling of the vote is going to change political phases, one way or the other?

This is not an answer to argument. It is merely an attempt to express the innate feeling of revulsion present in the hearts of a great body of Southern women against the burden of the ballot. If it would better things for them to vote, they would no doubt take up the task as they take up other necessary but distasteful work. But since no course of reasoning can show where the present political status would be radically changed for the better, and since the loss to womanhood would be so immeasurably great, the protest seems excusable and just. The writer is a country woman, in heart and soul, proud to be identified with the interests of those who must carry the greatest burdens of the sex, and knowing the situation from actual contact, ventures to speak for those who, through lack of organization, cannot speak for themselves.

Kate Douglas Wiggin's Anti-Suffrage Reasons

"Nature has spent some thousands of years," says Kate Douglas Wiggin, "making women conservers of energy, and now we are trying to reverse the process and become even as men, who are 'katabolic,' or dispensers of energy.

"I believe in the old-fashioned woman, but I also believe that women must be influenced by modern thought and by the problems of to-day. I have always been opposed to suffrage for women. There are so many other more important things to do, and we already have all the tools to do them with. In looking back on my busy life I can recall no incident where I could have done more had I been able to vote.

"It bores me to death," she continued; "I simply can't read or listen to talks about women and the ballot. It seems to me that if women could be made to look at the situation dispassionately, to forget for the moment the 'cause' and their 'rights,' and consider a little whether they cannot create for themselves a broader perspective, a sounder sense of values, then all the honest desire for improvement indicated by the present unrest might indeed be both hopeful and helpful."

"A Woman Traveler" disputes the suffrage claims for Norway thus:

"I never heard a Norwegian woman refer to politics, and it is commonly said among American women there that women as a class do not begin to have the deference paid them by men that they do in America; that is, their opinions are not regarded so highly and they are treated a good deal as they are in other European countries. Women can vote by proxy and a man can bring home a blank which his wife can fill out, and it usually results in his having two votes instead of one."

The Cambridge Anti-suffragists point out that the belief that woman suffrage would do away with saloons is only an exploded theory. According to Senator Works, of California, San Francisco alone has 3,500 saloons. As internal revenue for 1913 showed that in proportion to population two liquor licenses were issued in the states where women had the ballot to one in states where only male suffrage obtains, it is no wonder that anti-saloon people are opposing woman suffrage.

Samuel Merwin is himself evidently getting warm when he says that the modern girl is audacious and humorous and of course warm. He also happens to be correct in saying that after following a hundred false leads she is going to get the truth. But why follow so large a proportion of false leads, when the truth—the same, good, old-fashioned truth—is right before the eyes of the modern girl all the time?

In Haverhill, Mass., where there are almost 9,000 women eligible to vote for school board members, only 84 women took the trouble to register, and this is about the average.

Should Women Vote?

By Joseph Gilpin Pyle

The question whether or not the franchise shall be extended to women has been so befogged with false issues that any fair discussion of it must begin with clearing the ground of some of this foreign growth. Before considering what is involved in the proposition of "votes for women," it will be well to understand definitely what is not.

First of all, it is in no sense a question of equality. Any true comparison between the mental and moral capacity of the two sexes, just as between their physical constitutions, shows a relation not of superiority and inferiority, but of difference. On this difference, as will presently appear,—a difference which has made our civilization and determines the very existence of the race,—rests the fundamental objection to woman suffrage. But the idea of inequality is not involved. It is possible that the business of government might be turned over entirely to women, and such occupations as cooking and dressmaking, in which men have already shown great expertness, might be committed altogether to men, and in a few centuries, after the necessary adaptations had been made and facility acquired, society would be as well served as now. But even if the hypothesis were proved, society would still have suffered for nothing the inconvenience and retardation of a transition period.

The point to be emphasized here, however, is the absolute falsity of the assumption that possession of the right to vote argues higher quality in the possessor; that non-voters are stamped with some brand of inferiority. At bottom, the position of the Anti-suffragist is that women should not be required to undergo the onerous duty of voting, not because they are inferior to men, but because they are superior. Equality in the broad and general sense, in which alone the word has any meaning at all as applied to classes so distinct in many ways as the sexes, is explicitly admitted and affirmed.

The argument that women should vote because there ought to be "no taxation without representation" is mere juggling with words. The phrase has hardly a shred of meaning left. It belongs with such assertions as "All men are born equal"; the offspring of an age of abstract reasoning and rhetorical expression that does not stand analysis. That there should be no taxation without representation was a vital principle "in good old colony days, when we lived under the king." It had force then, wherever the people, struggling to preserve their simplest rights against the arbitrary exactions of monarchy, insisted that royalty should not take their property at and for its pleasures without some measure of their own consent. The principle today has about the same standing in a democracy that the theory of kinship "by divine right" has in a monarchy.

In practical government there is no fixed relation whatever between taxation and representation. It may be pointed out, to begin with, that the great body of women are represented in the law-making body, through husbands, fathers, sons and brothers. It is a real and effective representation. But those isolated women who are not so represented suffer no peculiar hardship. The men of the District of Columbia have no representation politically. When it comes to taxation, which our outworn adage makes the Siamese twin of

representation, the connection vanishes. Taxation and representation, in modern democracy, are divorced. There is no property qualification for the franchise. The man without a dollar imposes taxes on the man with millions. The amount of money to be expended is determined by a majority vote of the electors.

It is a good rule. To have the owners of property alone decide what taxes should be levied and how the money should be spent would be as intolerable as the political ideas of the Stuarts. The facts are stated here not with a view to any criticism of the existing system, but as an illustration of the present complete independence of taxation and representation. The foreigner who pays taxes on real estate owned in this country does not vote. Taxation and representation are no longer connected in theory or fact except in the loosest and most general way. And just as taxation is held to be spread over the whole body of the people who vote, though some pay and many do not, so suffrage is diffused over the whole body by the tremendously powerful influence not only possessed but exercised by women through the votes of men.

A striking proof of this is the change that has come over the laws of this country in the last fifty years. The first agitation for women suffrage did not call itself by that name. It was a movement for "women's rights." The vote was to be but a means towards the necessary end. For at that time men and women were utterly unequal before the law. A woman had few legal rights in her property, her earnings, her children. It was a real grievance which those early reformers set out to remedy; and they were not to be blamed for believing that the only effective means would be the vote. Yet, without the franchise, all and far more than was then contemplated has been accomplished.

There is complete and absolute legal equality between men and women today. Search the statutes of a state like Minnesota, and you will not find a single particular where the property right of the woman is not identical with that of the man. All that was sought originally has been won without the ballot for women. That must seek some other justification. The advocates of "the closed shop" in labor circles claim that, without it, the whole fabric of trade unionism would disintegrate and fall to ruins; forgetting that it was all built up, against opposition whose bitterness and ruthlessness can scarcely be understood now, from nothing, without the aid of the "closed shop" idea. So those who urge that women must have the ballot in order to secure equal rights with men, and to be represented in legislation as fully as they are taxed, blink the fact that, without the ballot, both of these ends have been accomplished.

As with every cause that enlists the support of large numbers of women, the inspiration of the suffrage movement is largely ethical. Most of those who have been drawn into it are really convinced that, with the aid of women's votes, society will be elevated, politics cleansed from corruption, abuses done away with, and both the individual and the state brought under the influence of a universal moral uplift. This explains the enthusiasm of thousands of strong, true-hearted, noble women who, in many cases putting aside their personal predilections, are laboring for the ballot for their sex as a step toward better things. Never was any similar number of people so pitifully mistaken, so piteously self-deceived.

In so far as public and private morals are concerned, there is reason to believe that the immediate National enfranchise-

ment of woman would make absolutely no difference in the practical conduct of public affairs, unless it were to increase the number of unenforced and unenforcible laws; the source of all graft, the old political derelict always drifting across the course of good government. This assertion should be tried not by the logic of argument but by the logic of fact. Woman suffrage exists in many states. In some it was granted many years ago. How has it worked out? The answer given by facts should be final. And that answer is that it has made no perceptible difference. According to local circumstances there has been good government or bad government, progress or reaction, as the case might be. The closest scrutiny discloses no great or permanent changes to be credited to the votes of women.

Colorado, for example, has been held up all over the country as an ideal example of what woman suffrage has done in a state where it has been established for twenty years. Now, let all the claims made in behalf of progress in Colorado be granted. Admit the improvement in legislation, the cleaning up of the city of Denver, the humaner trend of political interest and action. When all is said and done, we find nothing to be set down to the women's vote, in the sense that without it the same results could not have been achieved. These improvements in states and cities, these so-called "reform waves," are as familiar a feature of political as revival meetings are of religious life. They have been neither more nor less frequent, neither more nor less effective in states where women have never possessed the ballot than in Colorado. There, although women have voted for two decades, it has to be remembered that only since the last election has the halo disappeared from the brows of the Guggenheims; and even now there is shrewd suspicion in many quarters that it has not been melted down into bullion, but is carefully kept in storage for an expected reappearance. The conditions whose correction in Denver is made an argument in favor of woman suffrage are equally an argument against it as a remedy for male indifference and inefficiency when it is remembered that, through most of these twenty years, they were permitted to remain undisturbed in a community where women had equal political rights with men.

There are other tests. Consider a few comparisons between states where the two systems are on trial. There is one state many of whose laws today are generally recognized by men of advanced political ideas as models for the others. As a whole its legislation is more humane, more directed toward the establishment of equal justice for all more enlightened and intelligent than that of almost any other state. Yet Wisconsin has never had woman suffrage. Its people do not seem to be interested in that matter at all. So that all which Colorado has been struggling toward, with the aid of the women's votes—to which all of its success has been attributed by representatives of the suffrage cause—has been done earlier, better, more thoroughly, apparently more permanently, by a state where suffrage is neither on trial nor greatly desired. The two states, as illustrations with power to prove anything, simply cancel each other and disappear, like equal quantities standing on apposite sides of an equation.

Turn the argument around and look at it from the other side. Last year two states of the union stood rock-

ribbed for all that was reactionary. It stands immovable by reason of the woman vote. If there is one idea, one system, against which the women of this country are arrayed in solid column, it is Mormonism. Utah is the obedient servitor of the Mormon church. Its government is a hierarchy. No outside power can overthrow or even seriously disturb it. Men of independent judgment who have gone deep into the Utah situation declare without exception that this system, unique among American commonwealths is its un-Americanism, hateful to women as it is by virtue of the burden and the stigma it has placed on womanhood, rests on the support of the women voters of Utah.

The Mormon church votes solid, and according to direction. There are enough Mormon women in Utah to hold the balance of power. Whatever Colorado proves, Utah disproves. Again the argument for great public reforms to come through votes for women cancels out and vanishes. Fact establishes just what clear thinking would lead us to expect in the first place; that in the matter of practical results, woman suffrage in the broad, general aspect, changes nothing. Whatever it might cost, whatever sacrifices it involves, would be given in vain. Things would go on, as these illustrations prove they have gone on, precisely as they do under exclusive manhood suffrage.

Certain undesirable results of the extension of the suffrage to women can be foreseen clearly. From two sources spring nearly all the political ills that afflict our country or any part of it today. Get rid of them, and more would be accomplished than by all the constitutional amendments or new devices that ever entered the mind of man. One is the stay-at-home vote. The other is the unenforced law. Behind these are entrenched the grafter, the boodler, the men and women who prey on vice while they fertilize and cultivate it, all that tends to make civilization hideous and life, as the tormented poet called it, one "long disease." Both theory and practice go to show that each of these obstacles, not only to progress but to social health, would be built higher—unintentionally and with the purest motives, but still built higher—by the granting of the ballot to women.

As to the increase of non-voting voters, more must be said of this a little later. It is enough to remark here that every authority on municipal government in this country acknowledges it to be a powerful support of municipal abuses. Get out the full vote, and you are reasonably sure of good results. Increase the percentage of those who stay at home on election day—and it is increasing now so rapidly that a penalty for failing to vote has been seriously proposed in several states—and you prepare a smooth way for the combine, the gang, the boss. There can be no successful self-government, with difficulty any that might be called even decent, where any considerable portion of those entitled to vote do not at every election cast their ballot, and put their intelligence and conscience behind the act. What this involves, in connection with votes for women, we shall presently see.

The unenforced law is the product of sentimentalism, inexperience, "pandering to the moral sense of the community," as Fernando Wood called it, and sometimes of personal vindictiveness. It is mostly a consequence of our modern vicious habit of legislating to cover the exception, not the rule. A law

which does not relate to acts like murder, robbery or arson, immemorially accepted as crimes in themselves; a law relating to conduct, in a civilized state, should deal only with facts and conditions fairly general throughout the whole community. What do we see? A man gets drunk and abuses and neglects to support his family. Forthwith there is a demand for prohibitory laws, which a wide experience has shown cannot be enforced. A member of some legislature takes a room at a hotel and, either because of the shortness of the clothes or the size of his lower extremities, finds his feet uncovered and cold in the morning. Forthwith he posts to his place in the capitol and brings in a bill compelling every hotel-keeper in the state to provide sheets not less than nine feet long.

This is an extreme type of proposed law-making with which our legislatures are already overrun. It is largely a product of inexperience. By her inexperience and by her accessibility to the appeal of sentiment, of the emotions, woman is peculiarly open to this error. The very qualities that give charm to womanhood impair the efficiency of the voting machine. For a good many years after the franchise goes to women, law enforcement will be a difficult or impossible task. Yet on the enforcement, much more than on the enactment, of laws must not only the character but perhaps the very perpetuity of our political institutions depend.

Why all this wasted effort? There is a far better way. What women have done for their property rights they can do for the other objects in which they are most vitally interested, better without the ballot than with it. No delegation of men is received or listened to with as much deference as one of women by a legislative committee or an executive officer. Their demands are not always granted. Neither are those of men. But there is ground for asserting seriously that, if women brought to bear the same thoroughness of organization, the same concerted attack upon public opinion in behalf of those public measures in which they are most interested, they could secure all that they desire in half the time and with twice the certainty that they can by devoting their energies to a demand for the elective franchise. Indeed there are causes to make the heart ache which await just this disinterested and effective support.

Child labor is a terrible evil, and the women say they want to make laws against it. But it is a trifle compared with the disappearance of the home, the education on the street of the boys and girls of nearly all ranks in nearly all communities. If the good women will go on the streets of any city between nine o'clock and midnight of any evening, they will see evils that it is women's work to correct; that the law cannot remedy; that can be cured only by the repair and restoration of the home. Suppose, instead of trying to get more laws for the relief of the working girl, they should organize to curtail the number of girls who work in shops and offices; to help keep in the home those who are not in need; to frown upon the course of hundreds of thousands who leave a home that is perfectly able to support them, in order to win pin money by lowering the wages of the whole body of workers.

What might be done to check the horrible white slave traffic, to support the assaulted integrity of the family, to reduce and reform manners which appear in the younger generation as an

absolute disregard for authority and a taste for amusements of which neither the origin, the character nor the effect will bear investigation? There is so much of what is properly woman's work, of what can be done best by women or only by them, that all their clubs and other organizations might find occupation in that field for the next generation, without remembering that there is such a thing as a polling booth. And they can do it more effectively and more quickly if they never see the inside of that coveted shrine.

(To be concluded in a later issue.)

Miss Jane Addams was one of the suffragist women who went to Massachusetts to point out that votes for women had caused the City of Chicago to put in an improved system of garbage disposal. But now comes along one George B. Young, who is none other than the Health Commissioner of Chicago and a mere man, to tell us that votes for women had nothing whatever to do with it.

It appears that one Joseph French Johnson is head of the School of Commerce of the New York University, which is rather fortunate if, as has been suspected, Mr. Johnson doesn't lecture on Commerce. He has views on the feminist question, thus: "As for housework, I think men should do the disagreeable part anyway—dish washing and things that spoil the hands."

Miss Alice Paul, in addition to trying to swing the Daughters of the Revolution over to the side of female suffrage, is very busy raising $100,000 to secure the passage of a Federal suffrage amendment. It appears that she already had $56,192 in hand, and contributions are coming in at the rate of $500 a week.

Dr. Woods Hutchinson tells us that God doesn't fix the death rate. But there is yet hope that such things may be regulated, for Miss Alice Stone Blackwell feels positive that female suffragism has diminished and thus has already regulate the death rate in the State of Washington.

The Washington lobby of the suffragists, and a Miss Mott particularly, are looking for some thirty members of the New York Congressional delegation in the House; but they will not find these gentlemen if they see the others first.

One good thing may be said for the female suffrage agitation. It has enabled many a woman and probably a number of debutantes to "enter first class society" who would have been able to do it in no other way.

Mrs. Elizabeth T. Hadden of Brooklyn doesn't wish to be severe on her own sex, but she insists that "there is no doubt of the fact that our women lack stability of mind and are much too moved by crass sentimentality."

In the Interest of Class Consciousness

The Rev. John Haynes Holmes is one of the most conspicuous of the wealthy Socialist agitators who, having inherited riches, have never known anything of the common trials connected with making a living and hence know nothing now of the particular responsibility which attaches to preachers and other teachers, especially if they are wealthy and hence can be "independent" in speech and action, or in other words, don't care what they say.

This rich preacher has often betrayed the truth, or betrayed his ignorance of the realities of life, even in his own pulpit, by encouraging the unfortunate to think that conditions for which they were not in any manner responsible had made them poor and unhappy, a false assumption and teaching which must not have happened, or might not have happened, if this preacher had himself known the joy of achievement by hard work in the face of conditions which he not only could control but which it would have made a man of him to control. This Mr. Holmes has lately made another serious error, illustrating how easy it is to be mistaken when intending, no matter how sincerely, to be right. He says:

"When the rich woman and the poor woman meet together in the same room to talk things over, it places them on a more equal footing. Our great problem in this country is to tear down the artificial barrier that separates the woman of the privileged class from the woman of the oppressed class."

If the number of real democrats in the world (who are so likely to be the real aristocrats of the world) could be enlarged sufficiently, we should hear less about these false and useless and wholly unkind distinctions so often sought to be drawn by men and women who, while pretending to care nothing about them and to know nothing about them themselves, nevertheless fairly tingle with a real class consciousness which too frequentliy has grown by the very fictitions upon which it has been feeding. It doesn't occur to the real aristocrat (who is the real democrat) that any human being is his inferior. He knows that every human being, like himself, is a part of the heart of the world, and thus, no matter what his surroundings may have been, or his financial or supposed social state may be, goes his way wholly without the patronizing self-consciousness which is so likely to be the mere class consciousness of the cheap though often rich vulgarian.

So the real human being, bred and working and living under circumstances considered by some to be less fortunate, holds his head up. He is also the true democrat and the true aristocrat. Why should he not be, if he respects himself and works for an honest living and makes it—and keeps far enough away from the meddlesome theorists and alleged uplifters and parlor Socialists, born with silver spoons in their mouths, who seem sometimes almost to wish for a large, "downtrodden" neighborhood in order that they may be still more meddlesome and still more class conscious? E. C. S.

The "new National woman suffrage move" has resulted, according to the latest count, in the publication of nineteen photgraphs of the new National woman suffrage movers; and thus much has been gained.

Mere Male Theories Good Enough for Them

"The club women of New York," observes *The New York World* editorially, "expecting that their National Convention next year will be the biggest thing in history of its kind, are modestly preparing to submit a request to the city to build them a hall suitable for that and other conventions of the future.

"They might of course hire Madison Square Garden, associated though that auditorium is with mere masculine conventions and exhibitions. Or they might raise the money by subscription and build it themselves; surely there must now be enough women of wealth in club membership to finance the project. But they prefer to ask the city to build it for them as the simplest way.

"In this they show a thorough understanding of modern male theories of the uses of government. A few millions more or less would only slightly increase the tax-rate, and the city would have a fine new building for the use of a small section of the community at a trifling cost to everybody.

"Women are fast learning the art of government, which, as Voltaire remarked, was to make two-thirds of the people pay all they possibly could for the benefit of the other third."

Questions for Certain Young Mothers

Editor, THE REPLY:

Have all the suffrage spinsters decided how they will acquire "economic independence" when they have the vote? And have all the young mothers chosen the institutions in which to "intern" their babies and young children while they are acquiring this, or are the husbands "complaisant" and willing to labor five hours a day earning a living wage, then returning to the bosom of the family to care for the children, order the meals, and darn the socks, while mamma does her little stunt of earning a living wage outside the home? If Suffragists are honest and carry their theories to a logical conclusion, these are the grave questions which they must face. It is time they were up and doing! November is near!

Meanwhile, inasmuch as all Feminists and many Suffragists believe that every woman, married or single, should earn her own living (that is, be "economically independent"), would it not be well for the men to think twice before flooding the field of labor with the torrent of untrained workers, eager to compete with them and undersell them at any price, and whose vote, added to that of a minority of men, can outvote the majority of men on any question that may arise? M. A. M.

The working woman is not interested in Suffrage, according to Melinda Scott, president of the Woman's Trade Union League.

What with washing, and cooking, and sewing to do at home after her day at factory or shop, she has little time for such frills as suffrage. It's all right, she admits, for those rich women who don't have to bother about where their living comes from, but she has her hands full as it is. She is too tired, too doggedly tired, to puzzle her mind with what it all means. Or, if she does think about it at all, she wonders skeptically just what good it will do her. The working men have been voting all this time and they are just as poor off. Or perhaps she has heard her men folks ridicule those Suffragettes they read about in the papers—and there is no woman so sensitive to ridicule as the woman who works. All this according to *The New York Tribune.*

"We hear the historic phrase, taxation without representation," writes a correspondent of the *Sun,*" without regard to the number of times that it has been pointed out that the words originally referred to financial legislation for one body of people by the elected representatives of another body of people not themselves included in the operations of the laws in question. In this country the men make the laws, and as it is incumbent upon the men to obey these laws themselves there does not appear to be any hardship in exacting the same obedience by women.

Meets the Issue Like a Great Newspaper

The *New York Times* prints an editorial entitled "It Must Be Defeated," meaning the woman suffrage amendment, in which it says:

"No evasion of duty in this matter is possible. No man of voting age may shirk responsibility by ignoring the constitutional amendment ballot. A grave issue faces the men and they must meet it squarely. The proposal is to transform the whole political and social fabric. The position of the *Times* on the question of woman suffrage has long been known. It is totally opposed to the extension of the suffrage on the grounds that it would not benefit the women in any single way and would tend to disorganize society.

"Men, by their own heedlessness, have precipitated the present crisis. They must meet it. Nothing is to be gained by condemning the hasty and foolish action at Albany. Sooner or later the electorate would have been compelled to take the matter in their own hands. Now is always a good time to perform a duty."

The *Times* editorial first quoted stirred up Suffragists and Antis to write printed pages upon printed pages of letters to it, and with the same courage and vision which characterized its editorial standing against votes for women, it published three times as many letters from Suffragists, probably, as from Anti-suffragists. The significant and valuable thing in that particular issue of the *Times* was its own additional editorial upon the main proposition, which ran thus:

"Of all the arguments advanced we like that best which brings against us the charge of being old-fogeyish. The article in which suffrage for women was opposed is described as 'so deliciously reactionary and absurdly mediæval,' as 'an antiquated editorial' the venerable writer of which ought to be retired on a pension, as 'unprogressive,' as 'moth-eaten' and 'bearing all the ear-marks of the Dark Ages.' With cheerfulness and much pride the *Times* enters the plea of guilty. In an age of fads and nostrums, at a time when myriads of unschooled minds are working day and night turning out cures for every human ill, when it is the fashion of the day to scoff at the teachings of experience, to reject the proved and accepted, and to exalt the new and untried, somebody ought to stand up and say a good word now and then for the works of the fathers—we hasten to add and of the mothers. And when, in this age of mushiness and confusion, so many weakly yield to the allurements of all the new cults, it is, we take it, a tribute to courage to be called old-fogeyish.

"The *Times* has fought with beasts wilder and shaggier than any that St. Paul encountered at Ephesus. We fought against greenback inflation and the silver heresy; both are dead. We have fought against quack remedies, like the initiative, the referendum and the recall, until they have been abandoned by their chief sponsors. When, not so very long ago, certain nasty plays were put upon the stage in New York, with the pretended motive of purifying society, we pointed out that the real motive was gain, not uplift, not purity; and now the promoters of some of these plays are quarreling in the courts over the division of their foul profits. No, we file no protest against the suffragist charge

of old-fogeyism. There are principles that defy change. The frothing water runs its noisy course, the eternal banks stand where they did. When the suffragists are able to demonstrate that the grant of votes to women will make political government purer and better, and women not less interesting and admirable, we will see what can be done about catching up with the spirit of this hurrying age.

"The foundation argument against woman suffrage is that it must inevitably tend to make women more like men. Mr. Choate's toast is quoted in one of the letters we print today—"Women, once our superiors, now our equals." It all comes back to that. Experience has not shown and argument cannot prove that the votes of women make government any better. There is real danger that it might be made feebler, more erratic, worse. But the effect upon women themselves can hardly be doubted. If they really qualify themselves for the intelligent use of the ballot, by the process which we showed the other day to be necessary, then they must cease to be what they are now, they must become more and more like men. If that is desirable, then there is an end of the argument against votes for women. If the welfare of society will be promoted by the universal entry of women into those occupations which best qualify men for voting in the light of reason; if we are all going to be happier and better off when women wholly or in large part put aside the duties which have won them all honor and respect and take up men's tasks; if women are to concern themselves equally about the ruder things of life, the strifes and passions of politics, the hard tasks and the problems of office, and the counsels and decisions which men consume their flesh and blood in the attempt to give well and wisely, then by all means give the votes to women, and the sooner the better. The home will be different, maternity less frequent—there will be less time for such things. But let the home and the race be sacrificed if votes for women is the greater good. The longer the argument continues the less satisfactory is the demonstration upon that one point. It is after all the vital point—whether suffrage will make women more like men.

But the advocates of the cause should be grateful to the *Times* for the opportunity it has given them, and will continue to give them, for such a public hearing as they could get in no other way."

The Suffragists made little headway trying to represent that the Antis favored the so-called Cannery bill; Marjorie Dorman pointed out that in California, Oregon and Washington, where the women vote, there is absolutely no limit on the hours of women in canneries.

It is not at all strange that the Suffragists mean to print their arguments on cakes of soap, when it has become so evident that they have so much soap for use in the campaigns that it seems hardly likely that they will have anything else to use in the campaign.

It is not so very significant that a Mrs. O'Neill, of Paris—Illinois, not France or Maine—has been arrested for buying votes. But the affair becomes quite serious when you consider how far this innocent diversion may extend.

Legal Rights of Wife and Mother

Hon. Everett P. Wheeler replies to the criticism of his statement that the Suffragist declaration that there was no right of dower in England "was singularly stupid."

This statement was made in reply to an article in the *Woman's Home Companion,* which put forward the alleged defective condition of the English Law as an excuse, if not a justification, for the Suffragist outrages. This article, which was entitled, "John Bull's Militant Daughters," contained the following statement referring to the wife:

"She has neither dower rights, nor rights as a mother."

The second part of the statement was absolutely untrue. By Act of Parliament of 1886 there was put into the form of a statute, what had been held by the courts for a century, that when the parents did not agree as to the custody of the child, the court would make such order as would best protect the welfare of the child. As to the matter of dower, as long ago as Magna Charta the right of dower had been guaranteed to the wife. This dower at common law existed in any real estate which the husband might own during marriage, unless the wife chose to release it. On the other hand, the personal property of the wife became the property of the husband when they were married, provided he reduced it to possession. The husband, on his part, became liable for the debts of the wife. In most cases this union of interest worked well, but cases became numerous, in which it did not work well, and, accordingly, without any change of statute the custom sprang up in England of marriage settlements, by which before marriage the property of the wife was put in the hands of a trustee and was to be held for her exclusive benefit free from the control of the husband. Where the husband had property it was usually a part of the same settlement that some of it should be conveyed to the trustees to be held for the sole benefit of the wife. These marriage settlements in practice took the place of dower and provided a maintenance for the widow of which she could not be divested. It seemed unjust that she should have this independence of the husband so far as property went and that he, on his part, should be so placed by law that he could not convey his real estate without the consent of the wife. Accordingly, by the Dower Act of 1833, the dower law was changed so that the husband could convey or devise his real estate free of any claim on the wife's part of dower. If he did not convey or devise it, her common law right of dower continued and continues to this day.

In 1890 further provision was made for the benefit of the wife. It was enacted by Parliament that if the husband should die wholly intestate, the wife, if there were no children, would take a share of the husband's real and personal estate up to the value of 500 pounds and one-half the residue. If there were children, the widow became entitled to one-third of the estate.

It may be added that the provision of law which enables the man to sell his real estate without the wife's consent is that which prevails in at least five of the Suffrage states—California, Colorado, Utah, Idaho and Wyoming. In some of these states, as well as in some of the

non-Suffrage states, the law provides for what is called a community interest in property between husband and wife. Space would not permit a full statement of the peculiar law on this subject. It exists in some of the non-Suffrage states, and cannot be attributed in any way to the existence or non-existence of votes for women! It is really brought over from the civil law which prevailed in the territory bought by the United States from France and Mexico.

What If Dr. Shaw Should Catch Him!

"I fear," says E. W. Howe, of Potato Hill fame," "the gentlest women have a vague notion that possibly Dr. Anna Shaw may get something for them they have long been entitled to.

"The plain facts are as follows:

"1. Dr. Anna Shaw is getting nothing of value for women, but is losing something of value for them;

"2. What is known as female suffrage is mischievous nonsense; the doctrine is wrong fundamentally;

"3. Dr. Anna Shaw is not a representative American woman; she is not recognized as a leader by the best American women;

"4. Dr. Shaw makes money as a professional agitator as does W. J. Bryan and many others, without benefiting anyone."

"Every woman who has found herself," writes Prestonia Mann Martin, "knows she has something far better and more important to do than to vote. Every self-respecting woman who understands herself and the world's needs knows that her chief business to the world is to make men who can do a man's work, and then to see to it that men do that work without her interference. That's what they are there for.

"The suffragist is a weak sister, too weak to stand by her guns and hold man to his. As for the male suffragist, puling and driveling and howling for women to come and help him out of his political difficulties—he ought to be put to bed with a bottle of milk to suck, or sent to an asylum for incompetents. If there are any men left, let them stand by us in this fight against suffrage fury and folly."

This is from Mrs. Pankhurst's autobiography:

"Now our task was to show the government that it was expedient to yield to the women's just demands. In order to do that we had to make England and every department of English life insecure and unsafe. We had to make English law a failure, and the courts farce comedy theatres; we had to discredit the government and parliament in the eyes of the world; we had to spoil English sports, hurt business, destroy valuable property, demoralize the world of society, shame the church."

I wish THE REPLY every success, writes "M. W. T.," from Fairfield, Conn. It is extremely worth while. I send one of my copies away regularly after reading it.

Expect New Privileges but No New Duties

The women of New York State who have not yet made up their minds resolutely to fight for the right to vote, says the New York *Times*, will do well to consider the list of special privileges now enjoyed by their sex. There is not a single law on New York's statute books which discriminates against women. There are many which discriminate against men in favor of women which would not long survive the institution of equal suffrage.

All women are now exempt, not only from military service, but from jury duty; a married woman cannot be compelled to contribute a cent toward the support of her family; she may do as she pleases with any money she earns; she may own real estate and mortgage or sell it without her husband's consent; she may divorce her husband for cause and he must pay alimony; she may will all her money away from her husband, while he can never deprive her of her dower right, which comprises one-third of all his estate. With these special privileges, the women must consider their right to prosecute a husband for non-support, while no husband of a rich woman, no matter how ill he may be, or how unfortunate, can compel his wife to support him.

These advantages, and the special factory laws for the protection of female workers, are likely to disappear if right of suffrage is conferred, as all voters should stand on an equal footing. If that rule is to be ignored, where would be the justice of a woman suffrage law? Equal rights, equal duties.

Of course, few of the advocates of woman suffrage have seriously considered renouncing any of the privileges woman now enjoys. Some of them fancy that they would like to do jury duty, but if they have thought of a law compelling them to perform it, they have rarely expressed the thought. They would stoutly resist any relaxation of the laws protecting married women. They fancy that the woman will continue to do as she pleases with her real estate and personal property, and demand alimony of a discarded husband, and yet exercise the right to elect legislators and thus have a share in the control of the business of lawmaking.

No possible advantages, however, can accrue to the women through the possession of the ballot, while it is inevitable that they must, if they get it, prepare themselves to suffer many disadvantages to which they have as yet given no thought. Since the "married woman" laws of 1860 were passed, it has been the tendency of New York legislators to go to the extreme in the protection of women. Many changes in the older laws have discriminated against the married man, but there has never been any protest against them. American men have felt it to be right and just that their wives, mothers and sisters should be protected by laws frankly discriminating in their favor.

"I learned at my work at Bedford," declares Dr. Katharine Davis, our Commissioner of Corrections, "that women resent the authority of other women. They prefer to be ruled by men."

Mrs. Peixotto, the discharged teacher-mother, gets her $4,000 at last. And Papa Peixotto says nothing, though perhaps not quite understanding where he comes in.

Sex Harmony, not Sex War

It is just as true now as in the days of the spinning wheel and the stage coach, writes Annie Riley Hale, that the sex relation should be complementary, and neither duplicative nor competitive; it is just as true now as it was 1,000 years ago that only by doing the work of the home can woman escape competition with man in industry, and only by confining her efforts to home government can she avoid duplicating or nullifying his efforts in state government. It is not a question of equality, still less of individual whim or preference, but one of social expediency, of diversified pursuits based on a difference of sex function, and arranging the work of the world upon the basis of sex harmony instead of sex war.

Woman in Man's Field; by a Super-Feminist

Says Mme. Ellen Key: "Competition between the sexes has produced—as regards manual labor—for men and women those lower conditions of labor which are the usual result of overcrowding the labor market—namely, low wages, long hours and uncertainty of employment. * * * The consequence of the outside employment of wives has been sterility, high infant mortality and the physical and psychical degeneration of the surviving children; a debased domestic life, with its consequences—discomfort, drunkenness and crime. * * * Among the middle classes competition between the sexes has directly reduced man's chances of marriage and indirectly diminished the desire of both sexes to contract matrimony. * * * Woman's competition with man in the field of labor has, in fact, occasioned a profound ill feeling between the sexes."

THÉ CUSSED DAMOZEL

The cussed Damozel cut loose
About half past eleven,
Prepared to do as wild a deed
As any under heaven.
Oil-soaked rags were in her hands,
And the bombs in her grip were seven.

She cried: "We'll blow this mansion up
Where Lloyd and George do dwell!"
"Wow!" cried her fellow-suffs, whose names
Were sweet as caramel—
Millicent, Pansy, Rosalys,
Phyllis and Christabel."

BERT TAYLOR, in the Bookman.

In November last, says the New York *Times*, a Mrs. Beasley, of Chicago, found it necessary to her comfort that he husband should cease to annoy her by his presence; so she killed him. When she was arrested she held in her hand a newspaper clipping telling of the acquittal of seventeen murderesses in succession. Her case has now been tried and she has, of course, been acquitted like the other seventeen. It is an illuminating incident. Nobody could have intelligently doubted that the natural result of what the Cleveland *Leader* calls the "maudlin gallantry of juries" would be to breed new crimes; but it is as well to have proof of it.

"The Woman Suffragist doesn't want the equality which she is crying out about," writes a Massachusetts correspondent. "What she wants is something for nothing. She doesn't intend to bear the burdens of man after she gets the ballot. She will not use the vote to elevate the race, to better the state or to bring about any real reform. She will demand and will often receive class favor and unfair advantages."

"In my experience as canvasser," writes Linda V. Content, Suffragist, "while I found most voters indifferent, I found a surprisingly large number who, contrary to their wives, were violently opposed. A glance at our card catalogue shows that many women receive notices of our meetings in plain envelopes so that their husbands may not know they are interested. And so the sex-war begins.

Mormon Women and Mormon Men

It is understood that blood came near being spilled by Suffragists and Antis in Litchfield, Connecticut, recently, and yet the local warfare had its humors. Some one put a neatly lettered sign in the window of a milliner's parlors. It was the milliner herself, an aggressive advocate of votes for women, who did it. The placard read:

MORMON WOMEN HAVE VOTES
WHY SHOULDN'T WE?

A day passed, and remarks not all complimentary, were heard. Then "like lightning out of a clear sky the thunderbolt fell." Over night some wicked Anti, believed to be a male, found a way to place another motto in the window. It read:

MORMON MEN HAVE FIVE OR SIX WIVES
WHY SHOULDN'T WE?

Mrs. Clara Bewick Colby, a Capital City Suffragist, shows how simple it is to secure the franchise for women. There are four ways, but Mrs. Colby seems to prefer the fourth; the question could be decided if some woman, having her vote refused by a state, should bring a test case before the Supreme Court, and it should be decided in her favor. This last is the way it will finally be decided, Mrs. Colby thinks. This would, indeed, save the suffs a lot of trouble.

"Many men are advocating Suffrage," writes Sarah W. Fosdick to the *Times*, "from a mistaken notion of chivalry, but you are showing the higher chivalry of defending from attack the multitude of women who not only do not wish the vote but consider that the suffrage for women would bring disaster to the body politics, and would deprive us of the liberty which men up to this time have allowed us to enjoy by taking from us the burdens of government."

How did the speaker hope to get anywhere, asks the World, by referring to the fact that George Washington sometimes swore, that he drank mint-juleps and that he bet on horse-races? Why did he neglect that great historical occasion when General Washington and Mrs. Nathanael Greene danced three hours without stopping?

Juleps and race-horses and cuss words leave this generation cold, but a Father of His Country who could have fox-trotted all night, a Father of His Country who could have tangoed until the last Broadway lobster palace was closed by the clamorous cops, a Father of His Country who could have danced the Vernon Castles off their feet and left the rag-time orchestra hanging limply to its banjoes—that is the kind of George Washington the speaker should tell about if he wants a sympathetic American audience.

What I like most about your magazine, writes "E. E. G.," from Cincinnati, is its fearless handling of the various phases of the Anti-Suffrage subject. If you don't believe in being too ladylike about this matter, we agree with you heartily in this part of the country. We only hope that the extensive distribution of THE REPLY will be enough to defeat Woman Suffrage in New York as overwhelmingly as it was done in Ohio.

J. G. Phelps Stokes, in a speech in the Rev. John Haynes Holmes' Church of the Messiah recently, stated that there are 30,000,000 Socialists in the world and that there would be twice that many when women voted.

Women, writes Ida Tarbell, now stand outside of politics, and therefore are free to appeal to any party in matters of education, charity and reform. Non-partisanship is woman's greatest weapon.

When James Lees Laidlaw Tangoed with Rev. Anna Shaw

Dr. Shaw fox-trotted with James Lees Laidlaw—*daily paper.*

Off she sped in the arms of her partner, James Lees Laidlaw—*another daily paper.*

Now lissun all ye Suffragettes and hear about our thé
Dansant, which, being French, is called in Irish language "tay,"
And say if trot and maxixe weren't the best you ever saw
When James Lees Laidlaw tangoed with Reverend Anna Shaw.

Glide a little, slide a little, one, two, three!
Stoop, droop, hesitate and bend your shoulder—so.
Let your footsies touch the floor the same as me;
Give a jump and then a bump, and off you go!
Gleefully the chandeliers dip and swing and bow.
Hear the cymbals and the drum proudly answer "Wow!"
Don't the rapt spectators guess we're going true to form?
Don't they know we're truly keeping votes-for-women warm?
Skip a little, dip a little, toes and heels;
Keep your footsies on the floor, or down you go!
Loop the loop, and watch your step, and shun banana peels;
Now a jump and then a bump—O! O! O!
Careful with the pieces now, ye men of either sex!
Even so all Super-Suffs must look and act like wrecks!
And, anyhow, was not our stunt the best you ever saw
When James Lees Laidlaw tangoed with Reverend Anna Shaw?

David Clark, a prominent authority, writes that certain statements in regard to child labor made by Miss Mable Washburn, of Hartford, secretary to the Connecticut Equal Suffrage Association, are largely incorrect and are a type of the misrepresentations referred to in his recent address before the National Child Labor Conference. He notices especially the following paragraph:

"These children work in day and night shifts ten hours at a time at work which requires the closes application to avoid injuries or punishment."

This, Mr. Clark says, is not correct; the work of the children in Southern cotton mills does not require the closest application and there is very little danger or injuries.

We who deplore and condemn the women's fight for votes, wrote Anne D. Murdock to the *Times,* need just the championship you have, unasked, given us. We anti-suffragists are dumb before our vociferous, agile sisters, and the men have nothing to fear from us.

"The Suffragists theaten and trouble the men, and, naturally, the men feel bound to take some action to placate them. But hardly a man or woman has yet voiced the Anti-Suffrage objection to woman Suffrage; the deep underlying patriotism and love of country we feel, which will deny itself a vote, if by that the rank and file of women may be denied suffrage."

There is but one power in the world which can minimize the evils now resulting from child labor, sweatshops, prostitution and kindred abuses, due to economic causes which men are unwilling to disturb, and that is an electorate composed in part of women; utterance by Ex-Senator Alfred J. Beveridge, showing how little he really knows.

With unrestricted female suffrage, says I. M. H., it is not probable that any concerted movement looking to adequate National defence could ever be carried out, and in time America would lapse into something like the condition that China used to be in, an easy prey for whatever man-governed nation chose to come in and take it.

Replies, if not Last Words

We earnestly request every correspondent to THE REPLY who sends in names and addresses to be sure that they are all clearly written out and accurate. The work which our numerous correspondents are enabling us to do in the way of distributing copies of the magazine is important for the success of the cause. We appreciate their kindness in enabling us to do this work and ask them to assist us with it in every possible way.

The Antis of Albany drop into verse now and then, thus:

It's a long, long way to Woman Suffrage
For New York State to go!
Since Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin
Have turned it down, you know!

Will some kind reader send to THE REPLY a copy of the October, 1913, number? It is greatly desired to complete a file. Another interested reader desires a copy of the January, 1914, issue. THE REPLY will be most happy to acknowledge receipt of these.

It appears that Mrs. Ernest Thompson-Seton is after $20,000 for the suffragist cause, and if, as Mrs. Ernest Seton-Thompson she raises another $20,000, that will be quite a tidy sum.

One of the mysteries that will never be solved relates to Mrs. Catt's moderation in naming only 125 women immortals. Why so small a number? Why not 250?

Miss Alice Paul asserts that President Wilson's statement to the Democratic women who went to him to ask his support for suffrage was inconsistent and illogical.

"If the Democratic leaders of Congress make as bad a record for their party as has the President," she said, 'that party can no longer hope for the support of self-respecting women."

The proposition to create two woman associate justices of the criminal courts of New York City, at salaries of $4,000 per year, must ultimately afford many, many Suffragists an opportunity to prove that they care nothing for office provided only the salary is small enough.

It has leaked out that Mrs. Canfield, mayor-elect of Warren, Ill., is seventy-four or so; indicating that there is, after all, a time in the lives of Suffragists when this little matter of one's age doesn't matter very much.

Congressman Abercrombie of Alabama appears to be a highly discriminating person. Arguing for the passage of the Constitutional amendment for female suffrage, he enumerated among those opposed to woman suffrage

Fourth. The forces of vice and graft; the cohorts of ignorance and prejudice; the political bosses, brewers, saloon keepers, gamblers, and professional criminals.

One Jules Bois, a Frenchman, declared recently that female suffrage was coming—and the world didn't stop revolving.

Mrs. William Hale Thompson, wife of the mayor-elect of Chicago, tells us that the "victory was won by teas." No authority could be higher—and no reason for female suffrage quite so promising and conclusive as that could possibly be given.

To Holler and Get the Vote

Last spring, writes Elizabeth E. Goldsmith, I was walking along the north sire of Washington Square and saw drawn up to the curb an automobile, and standing up in it a very fashionably attired woman addressing a few street urchins, a butcher's boy, and a maid servant or two, who stared up at her with blank, unintelligent faces. She was telling them of Judge Lindsey's advice to some boys out in Colorado who wished to help in his election, but were not old enough to vote. He told them the only thing they could do was "just holler." And this speaker said: "That is what we women are going to do. We are going to 'just holler' until we are heard down in Albany."

Frank About Feminism at Potato Hill

While the craze for investigation is on, says Howe's Monthly, why not investigate the kitchens of those women who insist on clean grocery stores and clean dairies? Why not investigate the kitchens of those women who devote a good deal of time to advocating equal suffrage?

Mrs .Henry Marshall (of Potato Hill), who is a suffragist, seems to become more violent every year; she now says that when there is a marriage the man should take the woman's name.

Hon. Helen Ring Robinson, state senator in Colorado, being asked if she had introduced in the Colorado senate a curfew law for husbands, replied: "Not yet." The suffragettes are making their doctrine sufficiently disreputable to warrant the detestation in which it is held.

A suffragette may be a good talker, and brave and smart; she may tell the world a lot of things about men that the world should know, but she is rarely a good housekeeper or a satisfactory wife and mother.

Rev. Mabel M. Irwin says in the New York *American:*

"No girl should ever be allowed to reach the marriageable age without either a trade or a profession."

Stateswomen are even worse than statesmen.

The New York World, in further evidence of its sincere devotion to the cause of votes for women, tells us that a charming "Anti" was attempting to stop the arguments hurled at her pretty head by an ardent "Pro."

"I might favor women voting," she said, "if the ballot was restricted to such women as can read and write."

"Oh, you could not possibly do that," protested the "Pro," with a horrified expression, "because it would be a violation of the Monroe Doctrine."

HOW TO VOTE

"How are you going to vote, Jeannette?"
Inquired her friend Marie,
And the other miss, nonplussed at this,
Replied: "Now, let me see."

"I think I'll vote in a sealskin coat,"
Jeannette went on to say,
"And a gown of red." Then the other said:
Well, that's a lovely way."

—*Kansas City Journal.*

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